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elsewhere. The author has used parliamentary reports, South African newspapers, memoirs, and private information to good effect. The story of Botha's work as premier of the Transvaal, of his part in shaping the Union, of his policies as premier of South Africa, of his handling of the Hertzog split and of the labor crisis, of his quick suppression of the rebellion of 1914, and of his swift invasion of German Southwest Africa is well told. The twistings and involutions of South African politics are straightened out in workmanlike fashion. It becomes easier to account for the Boer support of Britain in 1914. That support was the outcome of the policy of a man of great natural shrewdness and remarkable capacity for growth, who not only mastered in a few years the ins and outs of the English party system and the duties of party leadership, but also caught the conception of British imperialism. It may be that the author gives Botha more than his due, and it is probable that he has interpreted South African politics from the standpoint of a watcher at Westminster. He has drawn a great man, whose policy in the last two years is the finest tribute to imperialism—of the Liberal kind.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

*Les Origines du Pangermanisme (1800 à 1888)*. Avec une Préface par CHARLES ANDLER, Professeur à l'Université de Paris. [Collection de Documents sur le Pangermanisme traduits de l'Allemand publiés sous la Direction de M. Charles Andler.] (Paris: Louis Conard. 1915. Pp. lviii, 335.)

*Le Pangermanisme Continental sous Guillaume II. (de 1888 à 1914)*. By the same. (*Ibid.* 1915. Pp. lxxxiii, 480.)

*Le Pangermanisme Colonial sous Guillaume II. (de 1888 à 1914)*. By the same. (*Ibid.* 1916. Pp. c, 335.)

*Le Pangermanisme Philosophique (1800 à 1914)*. By the same (*Ibid.* 1917. Pp. clii, 398.) (25 frs. for the four vols.)

ONE of the immediate results of the war is the realization that the history of Austro-German statecraft and diplomacy since 1870 must be rewritten in the light of the war of 1914 and of Pan-Germanism. German history written for us by Germans—and it has dominated by mere weight of erudition the studies of foreign students—has been a defense, a justification, a background for the war of 1914 itself which would convince the German people and, if possible, other nations as well, of the justifiability and necessity of the war when it should be fought. It was however a history in which real aims and policies could not appear; it must create the essential foundations for a structure whose existence must be unsuspected until "the day" dawned. While it would be idle to deny that there is much truth in the history of Germany as German scholars have written it, and absurd to suppose that the overwhelming

majority had direct relations with the Wilhelmstrasse, the truth of history as they have written it is at best partial truth; many omissions must be supplied and a change of emphasis is in most cases essential. The whole of German history must be scrutinized in the light of Pan-Germanism.

The reconstruction is a task difficult in the extreme. So much was prepared for our perusal that we do not know what we dare accept from the older histories and documentary collections. Nor shall we for a long time have much else. Indeed the older material can be finally evaluated only in the light of information which will for decades be locked in diplomatic and official archives. It is this problem which Professor Andler has tried to meet by studying the older diplomatic materials in connection with the published works of the Pan-Germanists. He has sketched in his prefaces a history of German policy and statecraft since 1800 which makes Pan-Germanism an integral part of German development. The text of his volumes contains what he believes to be the most cogent evidence of the truth of his conclusions. He has deemed it wise to print it at such length because of the comparative unfamiliarity and inaccessibility of his sources. The convenience and usefulness of such an extended collection, so carefully chosen, so faithfully translated, handled in so scholarly and impartial a temper, is apparent to every student.

While Professor Andler has not been unmindful of the purely historical and chronological aspects of the history of Pan-Germanism, and has devoted much space in his long prefaces to them, his real purpose—and to this his text is devoted—is an exposition of Pan-Germanism itself in all its manifold phases and aspects. For its relation to past diplomacy is largely a question of definition; before we can intelligently trace beginnings, find originators and sponsors both past and present, we must first agree upon the thing itself. Nor has Professor Andler been able entirely to solve the riddle over which the Germans themselves are still acrimoniously disputing; one is by no means sure that he is describing in the second volume the same Pan-Germanism whose origins he discussed in the first, though the plan for the organization of Middle Europe seems to be his test formula. The first volume deals with certain intellectual antecedents of Pan-Germanism. The father of its military aspects was Dietrich von Bülow, M. Andler declares; its notion of economic supremacy should be traced to List; the religious mission of the Germanic race comes from Arndt, Jahn, and especially from Paul de Lagarde. From Treitschke came its political philosophy, while Constantin Franz stated best its colonial and expansionist policy. On the whole M. Andler concludes that the Pan-Germanic programme is old and had until 1888 been repeatedly rejected by German statesmen, including Bismarck, as bad statecraft. The prefaces of the second and third volumes contain the narrative of German diplomacy from 1888 to 1914, and the texts furnish an elaborate and admirable exposition of

Pan-Germanism, drawn from the writings of the professed propagandists, the second volume being devoted to plans regarding Europe and Asia Minor and the third to Africa, South America, the United States, and colonization generally. The fourth volume treats at great length of the historical, philosophical, and economic background upon which the Pan-Germanic structure depends for confirmation and verisimilitude.

Scarcely any series of selections could have been made to which some objections could not have been raised or some additions been deemed desirable and M. Andler's judgment on so many points is so careful and discriminating that one is loth to criticize. Still, the allotment of one-fifth of the second volume and a considerable part of the third to Harden and *Die Zukunft*, one-sixth of the third to Rohrbach, and a quarter of the fourth to H. S. Chamberlain and Langbehn, when the Kaiser, Secretary Zimmermann, von Reventlow, and Bernhardt are reduced to less than ten pages each, and Nietzsche, Gobineau, Mahan, and Seeley are not mentioned at all, will surprise both the erudite and the general reader.

Again, the main stress of these volumes is laid upon imperialistic ambitions which involve the rearrangement of the map of Europe and which presuppose military aggression and conquest. That this is good orthodox Pan-Germanism no one will gainsay; but the stress of the ante-bellum Pan-Germanist propaganda was devoted to other issues to which very secondary places are allotted in these volumes—the weaknesses of the position of Germany's rivals, their past aggressions against Germany and present pretensions to world dominion for themselves, Germany's consequent defensive needs to meet their subtle and insidious encroachments, and the necessity for the expansion of the German trade area to keep pace with the growth of population. These were the notions accepted most widely in Germany, while the imperialistic dreams were in many quarters regarded as dangerous and unsound before the war and still meet with strenuous opposition from important groups. The expository purpose of Professor Andler makes this objection of less weight but this change of emphasis somewhat lessens the value of these volumes as an historical presentation of Pan-Germanism as a movement. Others will feel that the pamphlets distributed gratis to the general public and the school-books memorized in the gymnasia rather than books published through the usual channels contain the material of most value for a study of the opinions of the masses and should have been accorded more extended treatment. Nevertheless, when all is said, these volumes remain a solid and important contribution to the reconstruction of the history of German diplomacy.

ROLAND G. USHER.